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card
Dr. H. Paul Guhse
Vice-President for New York
Foundation for Religious Action
in the Social and Civil Order
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Dr. Guhse:

Thank you for your letter of 16 November
inviting me to participate in the Fifth National
Conference of FRASCO on 9 January 1961.

It was thoughtful of you to ask me to attend,
but, unfortunately, I shall not be able to join you
on this particular occasion.

I have noted your program with interest and
wish you the best of success not only at the Conference
but in your daily endeavors.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

Allen W. Dulles
Director

O/DCI: [] vgd (21Nov60)
Rewritten: O/DCI [] bec (29Nov60)

Distribution:

Orig - Adse

1 - DCI

1 - DDCI (Mr. [])

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(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE)

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ER: 60-8863/A

H. Paul Guhee
Foundation for Religious Action
in the Social and Civil Order
Suite 1278-9
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Dr. Guhee:

Thank you very much for your letter of 16
November inviting me to participate in the Fifth
National Conference of FRAFOO on 9 January 1961.

Of course I cannot predict what may be happen-
ing in the world between now and then, but unless
prevented by unforeseen developments, I shall be
with you on January 9th. It was thoughtful of you
to ask me to attend, and I am looking forward to this
particular occasion and to seeing you at that time.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

O/DCI/ [] vgd 21 Nov 60

Distribution:

orig - addressee

- ✓ 1 - DCI
- 1 - Col Grogan
- 1 - Chief/IO Division
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MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Dulles

Stan Grogan advises that this is an all-denominational, reputable organization that merits your acceptance. However, Mrs. Dulles has already accepted a dinner invitation from the John Irwins for 9 January. Would you therefore wish to decline Mr. Paul Guhse's invitation to speak at the Fifth National Conference of FRASCO on that date?

For your information, J. Edgar Hoover is scheduled to talk before this group on 10 January. Please also note the list of speakers that have been invited for the succeeding days of the conference.

JSE (22 Nov 60)
(DATE)

FORM NO. 101 REPLACES FORM 10-101
1 AUG 54 WHICH MAY BE USED.

(47)

"To make religious truth an effective force for the promotion of ordered freedom and the common good in every Nation and in the family of Nations."

FOUNDATION FOR RELIGIOUS ACTION IN THE SOCIAL AND CIVIL ORDER



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FRASCO

SUITE 1258-9

11 WEST 42ND ST.

N. Y. 36, N. Y.

TEL: WI 7-5980

November 16, 1960,

Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Director,
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY,
2430 E Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Dulles:

The burden of this letter is an invitation for your participation in the forth-coming Fifth National Conference of FRASCO. This is increasingly building up to the promise of a notable, historic occasion. I enclose a tentative draft of the Program in the making, which will indicate the place which we would like to have you consider as one of our leaders.

You may not be familiar with our Organization; hence I enclose some valuable information. Our Program is being welcomed on all sides because it offers an answer to the most pressing challenge of our times and because, without any special effort whatever, it is automatically drawing together the leadership, as well as laity, of all major Faiths. Volumes are being said and written concerning Communism, but you will agree that relatively little is being projected as a Positive Counter-movement to this evermore threatening enemy, boldly making a bid for world conquest. FRASCO is offering a realistic approach in that we are launching a positive Program of Awakening America. We hold that the most vulnerable weakness of our country is her incredible complacency and headlong plunge into a deadly materialism which takes no account whatever of the major claim of our Nation, - "In God We Trust," as stamped on our money, and "One Nation Under God," as a daily salute to our flag in all areas of our Nation. We, therefore, are projecting this National Conference to meet the dire need and unmistakable challenge of our Nation's destiny -- seeking to Re-discover the Moral and Spiritual Foundations of America. We are certain that all the mass media of communications will be carrying this historic event into every nook and corner of America.

With every hope that your calendar may allow of your participation, and that you will desire to join forces with the other notable persons whom we have invited, as per enclosed Program, and thanking you for your earnest consideration of this matter,

Faithfully yours,

H. Paul Guhse

H. PAUL GUHSE,
Vice-President for New York,
Director of Conference

NOV 17 REC'D

HPG/dh

NOV. 16, 1960.

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THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF FRASCO

A T

THE WALDORF ASTORIA - JANUARY 9-11, 1961

PROGRAM

THEME :

"WHAT FREE MEN MUST DO :"

Monday, January 9, 1961

12:15 P.M.

"MEDITATE ON OUR HERITAGE"

Luncheon For Religious Leaders of All Faiths

We could have upwards of 1000 to 1200 Priests, Rabbis and Clergy, -- something never done before. We also plan to have some 300 Seniors from over 40 seminaries, -- all top men.

Theme:

"One Nation Under God" - (Our Oneness Under God)

Presiding: Dr. David H. C. Read

Invocation: Rabbi Harry Halpern

Official

Welcome: Mayor Robert F. Wagner

Speakers: Mgr. Thomas A. Donnellan

Rev. Louis H. Evans

Rabbi Emanuel Rackman

2:45-3:45 P.M.

Workshops

Theme:

"Faith and Understanding"

I. Dr. Don Potter, Leader

II. Mgr. Timothy Flynn, Leader

III. Rabbi Harold H. Gordon, Leader

IV. Dean Listen Pope, Leader

4:00 P.M.

Plenary Session

Report from the Four Workshops

General Discussion

8:30 P.M.

Theme:

"Understand The World In Which We Live"

Presiding: Rabbi Israel Mowshowitz

Invocation: Bishop Lloyd C. Wicks

Speakers: Dr. Frank C. Laubach

Mr. Allen W. Dulles

Tuesday, January 19

9:30 A.M.

"KNOW THE ENEMY SWORN TO DESTROY US"

Panel Discussion

Presiding: Dr. Charles W. Lowry
Speakers: Dr. Carlos Leyasmeyster
Professor John Bennett
Rev. John P. Cronin, S.S.
Dr. Fred Schwartz

12:15 P.M.

Luncheon (Discussion)

"MAKE OUR CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM MORE CREATIVE"

Presiding:
Prayer:
Speakers: George Champion
Mr. Alfred P. Sloan
Mr. George Meany

3:30 P.M.

"EXAMINE THE MORAL CLIMATE IN WHICH WE LIVE"

Presiding: Rabbi Julius Mark
Prayer:
Speakers: Mr. Norman Jaspan

7:00 P.M.

Dinner

"RE-DISCOVER OUR SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS"

Presiding: Ralph W. Sockman
Prayer:
Speakers: Hon. Charles Malik
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Wednesday, January 11

9:30 A.M.

"MOBILIZE THE RESOURCES OF FREEDOM"

Presiding: Mr. Chet Huntley or Mr. Charles Percy

Prayer:

Speakers: Mr. Frank Pace
Mr. Walter Cronkite
Dr. Joseph Sisoo

12:15 P.M.

Luncheon

"OUR POTENT WEAPON: MASS-COMMUNICATIONS"

Panel Discussion

Presiding: Mr. E. D. Canham
Speakers: General David Sarnoff
Mr. Louis B. Seltzer

3:30 P.M.

"DEVELOP ACTION PROGRAMS"

Panel Discussion

Presiding: Dr. Kenneth D. Wells
Speakers: Rev. John L. Piersma, OICM
Dr. Herbert Mayer Mr. John Baffert
Dr. E. Paul Guha Dr. James Robinson

7:00 P.M.

Dinner Of Presidents

-- This has never been done before
in American History.

SPECIAL MUSIC:

The West Point
Cadet Choir

"THE GOALS WE SEEK"

Presiding: Governor Abraham Ribicoff
Invocation: Francis Cardinal Spellman

Asolande Awards:

Explanation: Dr. Charles W. Lowry
Presentations: Mr. Conrad Hilton, Chairman
Justice Charles E. Clark
Hon. Louis L. Strauss
General Alfred Gruenther
Speakers: Former President Hoover
Former President Truman
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

B E N E D I C T I O N:

BY CARDINAL C. TAYLOR

THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY†

Published by

Foundation for Religious Action in the Social and Civil Order

Volume V, Number 4

October, 1960

Washington, D. C.

WHAT FREE MEN MUST DO!

From the European Renaissance, beginning in Italy shortly before A. D. 1400, until the end of World War I and the defeat and eclipse of Woodrow Wilson, "the last great prophet of the age of reason," the aspirations of Western man centered on Freedom.

Liberty was the desire of men and nations. History increasingly became a movement of emancipation, in learning, science, economic life, religion, education, and government. The American Revolution was both a great climax in the drama of widening freedom and the institutor by example and influence of a new era in world politics.

This era, in a real sense, is continuing even today. The new nations of Asia and Africa, and those lately reborn to travail and sorrow in Europe, are children of the first great political Revolution, proclaimed and inaugurated in 1776. Unfortunately man is an unruly being, and seldom continues long in one stay. Social reality, moreover, is inherently complex and difficult; and the rulers of states are rarely to be envied. Problems of a social and civil sort that are unsolved accumulate, and sooner or later exact a heavy toll.

This happened to European civilization in the first half of this century with inflictions so severe that the trend of half a millennium was called in question and the gravest doubts raised as to the goals of Liberty and Democracy. The great counterrevolution erupted in Russia in the midst of the First World War. It came in October (old calendar), 1917 and as a revolution within a revolution. With the Bolshevik *coup d'état* was associated a bold, radical, new idea—the first solid breach in the ideology inherited from and ever broadening down from Israel, Greece, and Rome.

The new idea was Communism proclaimed in a world historical setting as absolute truth. It was what all Communists call Marxism-Leninism. Communism is simpleminded as a world-view, but very complex as a total scheme of interlocking theory and practice. The actual result of Lenin's work was the institution of the first and most thorough total state in the technological era. Fascism and National Socialism were later in time and were essentially imitations of Communism, adapted to national situations and psychologies. They proved to be fragile and unstable by comparison with the Communist totalitarian prototype.

Today the stage is the world and the giant antagonists

locked in mortal combat are Communist Totalitarianism and Constitutional Democracy. The secret of Communism is burning faith, elemental vitality, and the ability to keep on the offensive. The problem of Democracy is selfishness, lack of enthusiasm, and the difficulty of making hard decisions in a situation that is neither war nor peace in conventional terms but that is understood by the Communists as a "protracted conflict" for the possession of the world and the development of a new, Soviet humanity.

What will the next ten or twenty years bring forth? Will Communism continue its sweep—will Freedom remain on the defensive—will total tyranny robed as the angel of economic development and social progress succeed in seducing the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America?

It is not pessimism but simple fact to note that Communist total statism, after forty-three years, commands one-third of mankind, owns one-fourth of the world's real estate, and is able at will to agitate and trouble the entire globe.

What is to be done? What must free men do, facing a situation of such menace and danger and at the same time having in their hands assets and weapons incomparably stronger than those possessed by the new tyrants?

To consider these questions, to advance understanding of the world we live in and the adversary we face, to develop a keener self-knowledge, to help one another not to "cease from mental fight," and to devise programs of action that are vital, intelligent, prudent, and adequate in magnitude to the challenge we face—such are the aims of FRASCO's Fifth National Conference, to be held in New York City at the Waldorf Astoria on January 9-11, 1961.

What must free men do? They must out-think, out-will, out-fight, and out-last the dehumanized ones who, in the name of a totally new society, have declared war on God, human spirituality, liberty, conscience, charity, and the brotherhood of all men.

The struggle will not be an easy one. The sun in the heavens is past the meridian, and the shadows are beginning to lengthen. Much precious time has been lost or partly wasted. But it is not too late to rally and to win the day. At stake is a fresh dawn, a new age, a better world or darkness over all the earth for an indefinite period.

† We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure *THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY* to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

In reading through your editorial of August 13, entitled "Faith or Fear" and widely reprinted in this country, what strikes me as a student of history and world affairs is the mild and relatively complacent view you take of Communism. It varies, you urge, geographically; it is not international; it is a typically human and therefore ever changing idea; it is essentially an impoverished thing that should alarm no one; in Russia it is no more than an empty profession since "she is in actuality highly capitalistic."

I only wish I could agree with this evaluation and could regard the Soviet Union simply as "an authoritarian State—a despotism—a dictatorship". Unfortunately the hard and stubborn facts necessitate a much firmer and more complex theory. It is however worthwhile to stay with an idea and try to understand it when in scarcely more than a century it has stood history on its head and when today it threatens to overrun the earth.

Dr. Raymond W. Miller, who is well known in Canada, has written in his stimulating book *Can Capitalism Compete?*: "Seldom has the world encountered a more terrific shock from an idea. Today, approximately one-third of the human race is under the domination of a country or countries whose expressed objective is the subjugation of the people of the earth to the Marxist program."

Communism is, first of all, an idea and a myth. This aspect is the source of its extraordinary dynamic. For those who believe it, it is a functioning religion. It is a view of the real which is all-embracing and which excludes all rivals. It has its prophet and law-giver, its messiah, and its chosen people. It came at a particular time with all the force of a revelation and its meaning and purpose are to bring in by violence and revolution a new world in which evil will be eradicated and man at last will be free and happy.

This myth of "a classless society" and of a kind of Kingdom of God, only without a God and without a King, was lifted by Marx unconsciously out of the Bible. It was, however, placed in a worldly, secular, and materialistic context. Indeed Communism might well be described as "a secular salvation-system." It is the Communist gospel and not, as you feel, the economic strength of the Communist states which should be our first concern. Mayor La Pira of Florence, Italy put this point succinctly when he declared: "At bottom, the drama of contemporary history is not a struggle between a Capitalist Society and a Communist Society, but between Christianity and Communism." In a similar vein, the Catholic Bishops of Cuba wrote in their momentous Pastoral Letter read on August 7, 1960: "Catholicism and Communism stem from two concepts of man and the world that are totally opposed to each other and can never be reconciled."

Communism is, of course, far from being merely a theory or philosophy. It is applied doctrine. It is an ideology of action. This takes two forms: plan for revolution and organization of power. *But both aspects flow from the creed and the world-view which Lenin derived from Marx and believed fanatically.*

Communism as a diagram for civil discontent is well illustrated at the present moment in both the Congo and many Latin American countries. The fact

of integration with massive state power in the Soviet Union, and to a lesser extent in Communist China, has greatly increased the ability of Communism to agitate, propagandize, and stir up trouble on an international scale.

As a state system, Communism represents the most absolutely conceived and successfully executed organization of power in history. The centrally controlled Party has a total monopoly not only on power in the usual sense of possessing the state apparatus but on all the instruments of influence. This distinction is of crucial importance if we are to grasp the significance of the Khrushchev era. Stalin concentrated on the police and on terror. Khrushchev had the wit and practicality to see that influence was as necessary as power and more urgent as an imperative corresponding to the development of Soviet society made possible in general by the methods of Stalin. The vision of the two men was the same and it was the vision also of Lenin and Marx—the vision of a Communist world and a Communist mankind.

Between Leninism, Stalinism, and Khrushchevism there are differences, but the continuity is much more fundamental. In the third dictator, because of the

Each party takes the attitude that the only ideological danger, the only military danger, to the free nations today comes from Communism. The Democrats say . . . "We pledge our will, energies and resources to . . . resist the further encroachment of Communism on freedom." The Republicans use harder language . . . "We confront today the global offensive of Communism . . . To nullify the Communist conspiracy is our greatest task". . .

The doctrine of "nullification" seems to us quite as bankrupt as that of "brinkmanship". It seems to proceed from the same emotions — hatred of Communism, fear of Communism. . . . Hate and fear are (not) a sound basis (for) a foreign policy. Beyond these two primitive emotions there is the strange assumption of United States leaders that Communism is "international" and as immutable as the law of the Medes and Persians . . . Yet it . . . varies geographically . . . A human idea, Communism has and must be subject to the same mutations . . . as any other human idea. The Communism practiced in Russia today . . . Stalin himself, dead seven years, would barely recognize . . .

Communism is a philosophy of poverty. . . . Why should anything so impoverished alarm (the democracies)? . . . Let us call things by their proper names. Russia is . . . a despotism—a dictatorship. She . . . is in actuality highly capitalistic . . . This newspaper opposes the Soviet system . . . But . . . the real concern about Russia and China is their economic strength . . .

—Toronto Globe and Mail

degree of success seen and tasted, faith and confidence flame more brightly than ever. A world is to be won. And a world is in sight. It was after Paris, in Austria last June that Khrushchev, like a new Moses on Mt. Nebo but without reverence and without restraint, looked out on the promised land of the globe and confessed: "Life is short and I want to see the Red flag fly over the whole world in my lifetime."

I am sure that Khrushchev like Moses will have to be content with the promise, and I have faith that free people are going to wake up and take the actions necessary to turn back the Communist tide. Nevertheless, there are grounds for healthy fear and I trust that the good people of Canada realize that at stake is their future alongside that of their neighbor to the South.

A MESSAGE TO THOSE WHO ARE STILL FREE

We, members of the captive East European nations, turn to you, representatives of the free countries. We turn to you from the worst kind of slavery, pleading with you to deliver us from this hell on earth. We plead with you in the name of the Creator, who blessed you with all the beauties, wealth and liberty, leaving us the sorrow, suffering and captivity. Sorrow and suffering are easier to bear, but it is captivity against which we rebel and beg you to aid us in casting off our yoke.

It is far from us to blame anyone for the conditions into which we were tossed, though the strongest among you proved to be the weakest, when we could have been delivered from evil. Compassion, pity was in abundance, but will and strength were not evident. Yet we carry our cross with patience, even though we see your own detriment, should you continue on the path you thus far have traveled. Indeed, your fate will soon be just like ours, if not worse. For you will be further bothered by two nightmares which we do not have to suffer from. The one is your own conscience that you could have helped yourselves—had you acted in time; the other that after you have been subjugated, there will absolutely be no one left to help you to get out of your misery.

If things go on the way they have during the immediate past, the "salami tactics" of the communists will conquer every country, one by one. And if you are afraid, what do you expect of the really weak?

With determination and courage you could save the oppressed and, automatically, save yourselves. The price of your freedom is our freedom. All free peoples should get together on this and emphatically demand in the United Nations the setting free of all captive peoples.

If the oppressor grants their freedom, then you, too, have become stronger and the liberated captive nations will be the staunchest advocates of world peace and brotherhood. They have suffered so much that they have no bitterness left, only kindness toward humanity.

On the other hand, should the jailkeeper turn down this natural desire for freedom, then there is nothing left but to exclude the monster and its hirelings from your counsels, because he surely wishes to undermine your unity and way of life. Then, at last, two billion free humans can live together according to their accepted customs, against whom there will be only one billion humans ruled by the slavedrivers. With today's favorable two to one ratio, the oppressor knows your strength and that your possibilities are greater than his. Provided that there is unity among you. This is why his chief concern is to divide you, working unceasingly to infiltrate and undermine.

But you must not slumber any longer. The final hour has struck when world peace may be saved without a universal conflagration. If you plan and act systematically, you help us regain our freedom and assure your own peaceful prosperity at the same time.

Yes, we the captive nations beg you to save us, because we know from experience that you cannot save yourselves from a similar slavery in any other manner.

—Written for Captive Nations Week, 1960 by an escapee from Hungary. (Read at the Department of the Interior Auditorium on July 20 to an audience predominantly representing all formerly free nations.)

ESPECIALLY AND PERSONALLY TO EVERY READER

The author of the moving document printed above is an engineer now working in Washington. He asks the Editor of THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY to provide "Church leaders of all denominations" with copies and says: "Could you simultaneously request them to conduct a prayer-campaign to win over the agnostics and for the liberation of those believers they hold captive?"

It seems to us that there could be no finer or more meaningful way in which religious Americans could observe the fourth anniversary of the Hungarian Freedom Rebellion, beginning October 23. To the extent that we truly cherish and love liberty, we are bound to remember the glorious actions of our Hungarian brothers which shook the foundations of Communism all over the world and gave new courage alike to the oppressed and to the free.

Your Editor, whose soul was stirred to its depths

and indelibly marked by the experience *empathetically* of Hungary's agony and tragedy, accepts in the name of FRASCO this tribute: "Allow me to express my sincere thanks on behalf of the nameless escapees of the Hungarian Rising, for your magnificent rendering of our message at the recent exercises. As read by you, our text has taken on added significance and the whole audience shared your sentiments for the cause. The Lord Almighty will surely reward you for this work which you so unselfishly perform for the down-trodden and oppressed everywhere." Such words may strengthen and ennoble us all, undeserving though we are.

Full information on FRASCO's Fifth National Conference—see Editorial, page one—may be obtained by writing FRASCO, Suite 1258-9, New York 36, N. Y.

MORE STOP! LOOK! LISTEN! SIGNS

We must realize that we cannot coexist eternally, or for a long time. One of us must go to his grave. We do not want to go to the grave. They do not want to go to their grave either. So what can be done? We must push them to their grave.

—Nikita Khrushchev, April, 1955
(Testimony of a defected Polish Communist: U. S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, June 8, 1956)

The most fundamental and common duty of Communist party members is to establish Communism and transform the world into a Communist world.

—Liu Shao-chi
(Second ranking Chinese Communist)

Soviet spokesmen, headed by N. S. Khrushchev, could not become a party to a sham conference when a series of events, culminating in the U-2 incitement, exposed the planned determination of the Eisenhower-Adenauer-De Gaulle trio to refuse to yield on any of the issues that stood in the way of furthering world peace.

—Clarence Hathaway
(A Communist writing in *Political Affairs*, June 1960)

The Chinese-Soviet relationship is in many ways closer than the traditional alliance: both regimes are rooted in a movement viewed as part of an historical process whose course they understand, and whose outcome they can predict; . . . they are striving to reconstruct societies on basically similar lines.

—Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski
(Columbia University)

The history of the Communist movement constitutes the longest and, in many respects, the most frightening chapter in the development and growth of modern totalitarianism. Whenever Communism has come to power it has demanded total control over the actions and minds of all whom it rules. Communist leaders, unlike traditional dictators, have not been content to

achieve political revolution or to gain political power; they have sought to impose from above a cultural revolution which gives the leaders of the movement final power over every phase of the cultural life of the nation.

—Evron M. Kirkpatrick
(Executive Director, American Political Science Association)

Either the peoples must accept and the party leaders must face more unpopularity . . . or they risk being forced to decide between mass suicide and capitulation to the enemy.

—Professor Hugh Seton-Watson
(Author of *Neither War Nor Peace*)

Much of our national rhetoric still suggests that Communism is one of history's temporary, more unpleasant aberrations, and that it is bound to disappear. This illusion is the basis of many of our worst troubles.

—Editorial: *Worldview*,
September, 1960

The issue is not President Chiang or Chairman Mao. Man serves for better or for worse but a fleeting moment in the unfolding of time. The real issue never to be lost sight of is freedom or slavery. And it is unmistakably clear that the world, as small today as the United States was a century ago, cannot go on living indefinitely half-free and half-slave.

—Rev. Luigi d'Apollonia, S.J.
(Foreign and Religious Editor, *Relations*: leading review of French Canada)

I don't believe this republic is in its decline and fall. I believe that with growing strength and determination we can influence the expansion of freedom in the world.

—Former President Herbert Hoover
(On his 86th Birthday. Mr. Hoover is a member of FRASCO's National Advisory Council.)

ON NOVEMBER 18, 1960 FRASCO WILL BE SEVEN YEARS OLD

FRASCO's leaders feel, in the light of the present world situation, that the inspiration which led to its founding was prophetic. They are determined to go forward. They welcome your inquiries, comments, suggestions.

The Blessings of Liberty is published quarterly. Subscription price is \$2.00 a year. \$2.00 of each annual membership in FRASCO is for a year's subscription.

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